

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01     PRETOR 04180 232352Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15  
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00  
PA-01 /069 W

-----034106 232357Z /66

O 232300Z JUL 78 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1832

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4180

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SAG REJECTS WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION

REF: PRETORIA 4178 AND 4179

1. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ADD MUCH COMMENT TO THAT OF THE PRETORIA FIVE'S REPORT ON THE MEETING WITH PIK BOTHA THIS EVENING. IT SEEMS CLEAR THE SAG WOULD LIKE US TO FIND SOME WAY OUT OF THE WALVIS BAY DILEMMA. THEY HAVE LITTLE CONCEPTION OF THE DELICATE FORMULA FOR ACHIEVING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT; THAT IS, THAT WITHOUT THE KIND OF RESOLUTION THE WESTERN FIVE AGREED TO SUPPORT ON WALVIS BAY THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO WAY TO WIN SWAPO AGREEMENT, WHICH WAS THE PREREQUISITE TO FRONTLINE  
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PAGE 02     PRETOR 04180 232352Z

AND GENERAL AFRICAN SUPPORT TO GET ANY SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL ENDORSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

2. LOOKED AT FROM THE SAG VIEWPOINT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE SIMPLY PUSHED THEM (AND SPECIFICALLY MR. VORSTER) TOO FAR. BY TAKING A POSITION ON HOW ANY WALVIS BAY NEGOTIATIONS MUST TURN OUT, WE HAVE, IN THEIR EYES, ROBBED THEM OF ANY FLEXIBILITY TO WIN ANY

KIND OF QUID PRO QUO FOR GIVING WALVIS BAY UP. THE OTHER SIDE HAS NO NEED TO BARGAIN OR COMPROMISE, HAVING BEEN ASSURED OF THE OUTCOME.

3. SOME OBSERVERS WOULD QUESTION WHETHER EITHER SWAPO OR THE SAG WANTED THE KIND OF OUTCOME OUR PROPOSAL WAS LEADING TO. THEY WOULD ARGUE THAT THE SAG IS SIMPLY USING THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE TO AVOID GOING THROUGH WITH A UN SUPERVISED SETTLEMENT; THAT WHAT THE SAG REALLY WANTED WAS WESTERN ENDORSEMENT OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION. THIS, HOWEVER, SEEMS TOO FASCILE; IT IS MUCH MORE LIKELY THAT WALVIS BAY IS A GENUINE ISSUE, AT LEAST TO VORSTER.

4. IT IS PERHAPS INTERESTING THAT THE SAG INTENDS TO HOLD OFF CIRCULATING ITS REPLY UNTIL TUESDAY, POSSIBLY IN HOPES THAT THE WESTERN FIVE WILL USE TOMORROW'S CONSULTATIONS TO FIND SOME COMPROMISE THAT WOULD PERMIT A DIFFERENT OUTCOME. WHEN SIR DAVID SCOTT ASKED WHETHER A WESTERN ABSTENTION WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE, BOTHA IMMEDIATELY GRASPED AT THE IDEA. WHILE THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE SOME SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FACT THAT VORSTER'S LETTER DOES NOT CATEGORICALLY STATE THAT THE SAG WOULD WITHDRAW ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, THIS MAY MEAN ONLY THAT THE SAG IS LEAVING ITSELF AN ESCAPE HATCH FOR A POSSIBLE CHANGE OF POSITION AT THE LAST MINUTE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03     PRETOR 04180 232352Z

5. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, I SUSPECT THE SAG HAS THROWN DOWN THE GAUNTLET. UNWISE AS IT MAY BE, THE SAG IS PROBABLY PREPARED TO PASS UP THIS FINAL CHANCE OF SETTLEMENT AND SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES. ONLY THE CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE GENUINELY INTERESTED AFRICAN STATES, WILL KNOW WHETHER THERE IS ANY ROOM FOR COMPROMISE. EVEN IF AN ABSTENSION WERE POSSIBLE, THERE IS A DANGER THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S INTENDED PUBLICATION OF THE VORSTER LETTER WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF IRREVOCABLY FREEZING THE SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION AND HARDENING AFRICAN ATTITUDES AGAINST ANY POSSIBLE COMPROMISE. CONCEIVABLY, THE SECURITY COUNCIL COULD PROCEED WITH THE RESOLUTIONS AS PLANNED AND THUS FORCE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO CHOSE WHETHER TO ACCEPT THE RESOLUTIONS OR TO WITHDRAW THEIR PREVIOUS ACCEPTANCE OF THE NAMIBIA PROPOSAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, SAG PUBLICATION OF THE VORSTER LETTER COULD CAUSE THE AFRICAN STATES TO DEMAND AN ENTIRELY NEW APPROACH IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, A POSSIBILITY THAT MAY NOT HAVE OCCURRED TO THE SAG.  
EDMONDSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, WALVIS BAY  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 23 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**TAGS:** PORG, SF, WA  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
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